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MAṘAIMALAI AṬIKAḶ: A LONDON BIBLIOGRAPHY

By K. NAMBI AROORAN

THE AIM OF THIS ARTICLE is to present a complete bibliography of the works of Cuvāmi Vēṭācalam (popularly known as Maṙaimalai AṭikaḶ, 1876–1950) which are available at the British Museum (Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts), the India Office Library, and the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.¹ This may be of some help to students of Tamil language and literature and also to persons dealing with the history of the Madras Presidency in the first half of this century. Also included at the end is a list of works of AṭikaḶ that are not available in London.

AṭikaḶ distinguished himself in various fields of literary activity. Though his fame rests as a great scholar of Tamil language and literature, he was equally well versed in English and Sanskrit.² The author of more than 40 works in Tamil,³ he was his own printer and publisher, running a full-scale printing press at home. It may not be out of place to sketch a brief biography of this great scholar.⁴

Maṙaimalai AṭikaḶ was born on 15 July 1876 in a village near the sea-port town Nākapattinam (Negapatam) on the Coromandel coast (Cōḷamaṇṭalam). His father's name was Cokkanāṭa Piḷḷai and his mother's name Ciṇṇa Ammai. Cokkanāṭa Piḷḷai was a physician and owned a house at Nākapattinam. AṭikaḶ had his school education at the Wesleyan Mission High School in Nākapattinam. He lost his father when he was ten.

From his childhood, AṭikaḶ was by nature deeply religious and pious. He had a great passion for Tamil language and literature. Even as a schoolboy he published articles in Tamil on religious themes in journals like *Nākaḷ Nīla Lōccaṇi*, *Pāskara Nāṇōṭayam*, and *Tirāviṭa Mantiri*. A Society for the Propagation of Hinduism called "*Intu-matāpimāṇa Caṅkam*" was founded at Nākapattinam and AṭikaḶ took an active part in the affairs of that society. He delivered lectures on topics relating to Hindu religion and morals.

AṭikaḶ was not satisfied with his school-learning. His thirst for knowledge was unsatiable. Since he greatly desired to make an intensive study of Tamil under a learned pandit, he approached one Nārāyaṇacāmi Piḷḷai, a bookseller in Nākapattinam, who had studied Tamil under Mahā Vidvāṇ Miṇāḱsicuntaram Piḷḷai of Tiricirāpuram (Trichinopoly). Nārāyaṇacāmi gladly accepted AṭikaḶ who underwent a regular course in the study of all important classics in Tamil. AṭikaḶ ceased to attend school in the ninth standard and thereafter the knowledge that he gained was acquired by his own efforts.

¹ In the Author Index of the three libraries his works are listed under the name Vēṭācalam Piḷḷai, R. S. He was also known as Pandit Vēṭācalam and Nākaḷ Vēṭācalam Piḷḷai.

² AṭikaḶ usually wrote a lengthy English preface to each of his works wherein he gave the gist of the book to enable non-Tamils to have an idea of it. The translation of Kālidāsa's *Śākuntala* in Tamil bears testimony to AṭikaḶ's knowledge of Sanskrit. Śrī Saṅkarācārya of Kāñcipuram Mutt has endowed an annual prize to college students in the name of AṭikaḶ for the best essay in Tamil on *Śākuntalam*.

³ His major work is *Māṇikkavācakar varalārum kālamum: Śr. Māṇikkavācakar—His life and times*. In the works listed here there are a few pamphlets varying from 4 to 32 pages.

⁴ A complete biography of AṭikaḶ in Tamil, *Maṙaimalai AṭikaḶ varalāru* (Madras, 1959), by his son Maṙai. Tiruṇāvukkaracu, is available at SOAS. T. S. Raghavan's *Makers of modern Tamil* (Madras, 1965) gives a short biography of AṭikaḶ and two other Tamil scholars: K. Subramania Piḷḷai and Tiru. Vi. Kaliyanasundaranar. This book is available in the three libraries.

The great Śaiva Siddhānta scholar Cōmacuntara Nāyakar often visited Nākapattiṇam and delivered lectures on Śaiva Siddhānta. After hearing him Aṭikal developed a taste for the subject. Cōmacuntara Nāyakar himself was surprised at the intelligence of Aṭikal when he read some of his articles and asked him to go to Madras to acquire more knowledge.

In 1893, when Aṭikal was seventeen, he married Cavuntaravalli (1880–1950). They had three daughters and four sons. Aṭikal met Professor P. Cuntaram Piḷḷai, the author of the famous Tamil drama *Manōṇmaṇiyam*, in 1895 and he in turn was much impressed by Aṭikal's scholarship. Cuntaram Piḷḷai recommended the name of Aṭikal for the post of Tamil Pandit in an English school at Trivandrum. So Aṭikal started his career as a teacher in Trivandrum but since the climate of the place did not agree with his health, he resigned and returned to Nākapattiṇam towards the end of 1896.

Cōmacuntara Nāyakar, who was much impressed with Aṭikal's knowledge of Śaiva Siddhānta, suggested his name to J. M. Nallacāmi Piḷḷai, who was in need of an editor for the proposed Tamil journal *Cittānta Tīpikai*, or *Uṇmaiviḷakkam*. Aṭikal accepted the offer and the first number of the journal appeared on the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria, 21 June 1897. But Aṭikal could not continue because in 1898 he was appointed Lecturer in Tamil at Madras Christian College,⁵ at that time still situated in George Town near the High Court building (later Parry's Corner). He settled his family in Madras city.

Aṭikal distinguished himself as a teacher by his erudition and soon his students developed a deep love of Tamil. His lessons in grammar were simple and interesting. It was during his lectureship that he published, on the model of English literary criticism, his critical commentaries on two early Tamil classics included in *Pattuppāṭṭu-Mullaippāṭṭu* and *Paṭṭiṇappālai*.⁶ At the same time Aṭikal took special lessons in Śaiva Siddhānta under his *guru* Cōmacuntara Nāyakar. He received a rude shock when his *guru* passed away in 1901 and composed an elegy in his memory under the title *Cōmacuntara Kāñci*. A few scholars who felt jealous of Aṭikal's poetic genius made some baseless criticisms of the elegy. Aṭikal answered those criticisms and published the elegy with a commentary under the title *Cōmacuntara Kāñciyākkam*. Through this his poetic genius was revealed.⁷

In order to work for the renaissance of Tamil language, literature, religion, and culture, Aṭikal commenced the publication of his own Tamil monthly *Nāṇacākarām* (the title was later changed to *Aṇivukkaṭal*) in 1902. Almost all his books were first published in instalments in this journal. Many of them were earlier delivered as presidential addresses in conferences. He successfully published the journal for nearly 40 years against heavy odds.⁸ In 1908 he commenced an English journal, *The Oriental Mystic Myna*, devoted to comparative religion, philosophy, psychic phenomena, occultism, yoga, spiritualism, and history. It ceased publication after ten issues owing to lack of financial support. In 1935 he started

⁵ V. G. Sūriyanārāyaṇa Śāstri (otherwise Paritimārkalaiṇār) was then the Professor and Head of the Department of Tamil. K. S. Kōpālācāriyār and W. Mahāteva Mutaliyār were among others in the department.

⁶ It was the period when most of the Caṅkam works were brought to light. Aṭikal took care to compare the palm-leaf versions of these two works and publish a correct version of them.

⁷ Another of Aṭikal's poetic works is *Tiruvorri Murukar Mummaṇikkōvai*.

⁸ Students of Aṭikal and many philanthropists provided the capital for many of Aṭikal's works. Aṭikal always acknowledged their help in the Preface. Paper scarcity during the two World Wars also delayed many of his publications.

another English journal, *The Ocean of Wisdom*, which was also discontinued after three years because of the lack of subscribers.

On the model of the Arya Samaj and Brahmo Samaj, Aṭikaḷ founded the Śaiva Siddhānta Mahā Samājam in 1905 to make Śaivism a living religion in the hearts of the Tamils. Branches of the Samājam soon sprang up in different parts of Tamil Nad. Aṭikaḷ presided over many of its annual conferences. The Samājam is still active in Madras with a Tamil monthly and an English quarterly.

Madras University made the study of Tamil optional in 1911 and Aṭikaḷ opposed this change in the curriculum. In protest he resigned his lectureship and, once and for all, retired from the teaching profession. He then moved to Pallāvaram, a suburb 16 miles south of the city, and built a mansion which later accommodated his own library, printing press, and a temple. The same year Aṭikaḷ took the vow of renunciation in order to devote his life to the welfare of his fellow men. He never desired to participate in politics or enter subordinate service of any kind for his living. He wanted to be independent in the missionary work which he had planned. This earned him fame as an independent critic without fear or favour.

Aṭikaḷ showed great devotion towards Rāmaliṅka Cuvāmikaḷ (1823–74) and wanted to propagate his concept of Universal Brotherhood. Rāmaliṅka Cuvāmikaḷ founded the *Camaraca Caṁmārkkā Caṅkam* in Vaṭalūr near Chidambaram. On the same model Aṭikaḷ founded the *Camaraca Caṁmārkkā Nilaiyam* in April 1911 at his residence. In English he named it “The Sacred Order of Love”. Aṭikaḷ became the Head and Preceptor of the *Nilaiyam*, and gave lessons to his disciples in Tamil literature and Śaiva Siddhānta.⁹

It was in the year 1916 that Aṭikaḷ decided to use in his writings only words of purely Tamil origin. He felt that the use of foreign words in a language would ultimately lead to its degeneration.¹⁰ So he changed his name from Cuvāmi Vēṭācalam to Maṛaimalai Aṭikaḷ and the *Camaraca Caṁmārkkā Nilaiyam* became *Potu Nilaiḱ Kaḷakam*. His journal *Ṇānacākaram* came to be called *Aṇivukkaṭal*. Soon many other Tamil scholars and writers followed the example of Aṭikaḷ and the Pure Tamil Movement gained momentum day after day. “In that way he may be said to have established a school of Tamil thought and writing.”¹¹

In order to carry out the missionary work which he had taken upon himself, Aṭikaḷ undertook extensive lecture tours in South India and Ceylon. He never addressed a meeting without previous preparation. As he himself tells us, his written works were originally delivered as lectures in various meetings. Once he toured North India in connexion with the Hindu Maha Sabha conference at Puri in March 1913. Aṭikaḷ visited Vijayawada, Bhuvaneshwar, Calcutta, Darjeeling, Benares, Dehra Dun, Delhi, Agra, Bombay, and Secunderabad. He delivered many lectures in English on Hinduism. In 1916 Aṭikaḷ was invited to South Africa to preside over the Hindu Maha Sabha conference at Durban, but he declined. The Tamils in Ceylon often invited him to deliver religious discourses. He went to Ceylon thrice in the years 1914, 1917, and 1921–2, being provided with passage allowance as well as

⁹ Aṭikaḷ even had plans to run a Tamil college but there was not enough response for it to be feasible.

¹⁰ Books which were written by Aṭikaḷ prior to 1916 contained many Sanskrit words. Whenever revised editions of them were issued, Aṭikaḷ took care to eliminate the Sanskrit words and substitute pure Tamil words. This he mentions in the prefaces that he wrote for them subsequently.

¹¹ P. Arunachalam, *Maṛaimalai Aṭikaḷ (1876–1950)—A critical evaluation of his contribution to Tamil culture*, Thesis submitted for the Degree of M.Litt., Annamalai University, June 1960, 320.

a liberal collection for each lecture. In addition, many became his disciples and they continued to send periodic contributions to enable him to publish more and more books. One such person was Tiruvaraṅkam Piḷḷai (1890–1944) of Tirunelvēli, the founder of the South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society at Tirunelvēli (Tinnevely) and Madras.

Tiruvaraṅkam Piḷḷai requested Aṭikaḷ to write a commentary on *Tiruvācakaṁ*, for many read the sacred work without understanding its meaning. Aṭikaḷ agreed to do so and the commentary was published in a series of articles in the monthly journal *Cen Tamil Kaḷañciyam*, started in February 1920 by Tiruvaraṅkam Piḷḷai. Aṭikaḷ's commentary caused a stir among a section of the people. Those who opposed it considered it a blasphemy to write a commentary on the sacred scriptures. They argued that scriptures were beyond the comprehension of the human intellect. But Aṭikaḷ defended his attempt and showed that at an earlier date many commentators, such as Ḵampūraṇār and Parimēḷaḷakar, had written commentaries on *Tolkāppiyam* and *Tirukkuṟaḷ*. Similarly commentaries had also appeared on the *Vedas*, the *Upanishads*, and the *Gita*. Aṭikaḷ wrote commentaries on the first four parts (*akaval*) only of *Tiruvācakaṁ* and the journal *Cen Tamil Kaḷañciyam* ceased publication after twelve issues.

Though Aṭikaḷ never took an active part in politics, he expressed his sympathies towards the Justice Party, which strove for a just place for non-Brahmans in society. It never desired to introduce any radical change in the religion of the people. Later Aṭikaḷ was pained to see the Justice Party, under the leadership of E. V. Ramaswami Naicker, turning out to be anti-religious. In a way, it may be said that the Self-respect Movement acted like a catalyst and a rallying point for the devout Hindus. Aṭikaḷ wrote many articles in journals and addressed many meetings pointing out the evil effects of the anti-religious propaganda of Ramaswami Naicker. In retaliation the *Kuṭiyaracu*, edited by Naicker, published articles condemning Aṭikaḷ. But in the end Naicker realized his mistake and sought the pardon of Aṭikaḷ.

Aṭikaḷ always vehemently opposed the introduction of Hindi as a compulsory language for study in schools and as the administrative language. In 1937 the Congress ministry in Madras under C. Rajagopalachari made the study of Hindi compulsory in the fifth, sixth, and seventh standards. Aṭikaḷ took an active part in the anti-Hindi movement and delivered lectures pointing out how Tamil would suffer by the introduction of Hindi. The largest meeting that he presided over was the one held at the Triplicane beach on 11 September 1938. E. V. Ramaswami Naicker and many others spoke. Aṭikaḷ also published a book entitled *Inti potu moliyā? (Is Hindi a common tongue?)*. Later the government gave up the idea. In 1948 when the government again introduced compulsory Hindi, many protest meetings were held. Aṭikaḷ presided over one such meeting held at St. Mary's Hall on 17 July 1948.

Most of Aṭikaḷ's works were written during the years 1920–40. Some of his books were prescribed as texts for the Cambridge and London University examinations taken in Ceylon and the United Kingdom, and for the Intermediate and Degree classes in Madras and Annamalai Universities. There was opposition from some quarters of the Brahmans to his book *Aṟivuraikkottu*, prescribed as text for the Intermediate classes in Madras University in 1936, because it contained a chapter dealing with the relationship between the Tamils and the people of the West, in which Aṭikaḷ wanted the non-Brahmans to do away with such

superstitious acts as prostration before Brahman priests called to officiate in religious ceremonies.¹³ Aṭikaḷ refuted the allegations in his English journal *The Ocean of Wisdom* and in *Justice*.

Aṭikaḷ built up his own library which he named Maṇi molinūḷ nilaiyam. The collection exceeded 4,000 volumes and contained many rare books in Tamil, English, and Sanskrit. After a remarkable career he died at the age of 74 on 15 September 1950.

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Notes:

1. Where a work listed is not available in the three libraries the abbreviation “n.a.” appears in the catalogue number column.
2. Pagination is not given for works running to more than one edition.
3. Where there are copies of a given work or edition in two or three of the libraries, the location is given in alphabetical order, viz., British Museum (BM), India Office Library (IOL), School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS).

TAMIL WORKS

1. *Ālaya vaḷipātu*
pp. 12. Pallavaram, 1918
(A religious pamphlet on temple worship)
IOL Tam.B.5221
2. *Ampikāpati Amarāvati*
pp. 284. Posthumous publication
First edition 1954
Second edition 1958
Third edition 1964
(A play based on Cōḷa history)
BM n.a.
n.a.
14171.i.96
3. *Aṇivuraik-kottu: Instructive essays*
First edition 1921 (13 essays)
Second edition 1931 (18 essays)
Third edition 1935
Fourth edition 1957
Fifth edition 1960 (18 essays)
IOL Tam.B.1820
IOL Tam.B.5720
n.a.
n.a.
SOAS XII.Tam.987(180950)
4. *Cākuntala nāṭakam: Kālidāsa's Śākuntala translated into Tamil*
First edition 1907
Second edition 1933
Third edition 1940 (3 copies)
Reprint 1962
SOAS n.a.
n.a.
Tam.69(41725)
Tam.69.5(44150)
Tam.69.6(45007)
SOAS XII.Tam.69.3(180800)
5. *Cātivēṇṇumaiyum pōliccaivarum: Caste and its evils*
pp. 96. Pallavaram
First edition 1911
Second edition 1926
IOL n.a.
Tam.B.3432

¹³ *Aṇivuraik-kottu*, 5th ed., 148–9.

6. *Cintaṇaik kaṭṭuraikaḷ: Reflective essays in Tamil adapted from six fine essays of Addison*
 First edition 1908 n.a.
 Second edition 1925 IOL Tam.D.2508
 Third edition 1963 BM 14172.de.89
7. *Čirutēvataikaḥku uyirppaliyiṭalāmā?*
 pp. 12. Pallavaram, 1918 IOL Tam.B.5220
 (A religious pamphlet condemning animal sacrifice)
8. *Cōmacuntarak-kāñciyākkam: An elegy on his master and replies to critics*
 First edition 1901 n.a.
 Second edition 1914 n.a.
 Third edition 1941 BM 14171.e.62(2)
 Third edition 1941 BM 14172.a.136
 Third edition 1941 SOAS XII.Tam.984(185692)
9. *Inti potu moliyā?*
 pp. 42. Madras, c. 1958. Posthumous publication IOL Tam.B.6999
 (Is Hindi a common tongue?)
10. *Kaṭavulukku mārāṇa koḷkaikaḷ Śaivam ākā: The nature of God and Śaiva religion*
 First edition 1929 IOL Tam.B.5950
 The title was changed in the second edition, 1957: *Kaṭavuḷ nilaikkku mārāṇa koḷkaikaḷ Śaivam ākā*
 SOAS XII.Tam.982(185960)
11. *Kōkilāmpāl kaṭitaṇkaḷ*
 First edition 1921 BM 14171.ee.16(7)
 First edition 1921 IOL Tam.D.939
 Second edition 1931 IOL Tam.B.5709
 Third edition 1957 SOAS XII.Tam.981(185681)
 (A novel in the form of letters between husband and wife)
12. *Makkaḷ nūrāṇṭu uyir vāḷkkai: Life of a hundred years*
 First edition 1933 n.a.
 Second edition 1941 Part I only BM 14172.zc.35
13. *Māṇikkavācakar varalāruṇ kālamum: St. Māṇickavācakar—His life and times*
 pp. 830. Pallavaram, 1930 (one volume) BM 14171.a.101
 pp. 1025. Madras, 1957 (two volumes) BM 14171.aa.138
 pp. 1025. Madras, 1957 (two volumes) SOAS XII.Tam.980(185679)
14. *Maṇṭavacyiam allatu ulakiyal oḷukkam: Personal magnetism or the successful mode of living*
 pp. 188. Pallavaram, 1927 IOL Tam.D.2604
15. *Maraṇattiṇ piṇ maṇitar nilai*
 pp. 199. Pallavaram, 1918 IOL Tam.B.3214
 (A disquisition on life after death)
16. *Mullaippāṭṭu āraycciurai: A critical Tamil commentary on Mullaippāṭṭu*
 First edition 1903 n.a.
 Second edition 1911 BM 14171.d.2(4)

- Third edition 1919 BM 14172.aa.11
 Fourth edition 1931 BM 14172.aa.20
 Fourth edition 1931 SOAS Pam.Tamil D.74144
 Fifth edition 1958 n.a.
 Sixth edition 1962 BM 14172.a.138
 Sixth edition 1962 BM 14172.de.51
 Sixth edition 1962 SOAS XII.Tam.983(185691)
17. *Murkāla pirkāla Tamiḻppulavōr: Ancient and modern Tamil poets*
 pp. 151. Pallavaram, 1936 SOAS Pam.Tamil B(74049)
18. *Mutaṛ Kuṛaḷ vāta niraḱaraṇam*
 pp. 50. Madras, 1898 BM 14170.ee.32(2)
 (A reply to the pamphlet entitled *Mutaṛ Kuṛaḷ vātam*)
19. *Paḷan Tamiḻ koḷkaiyē Śaiva camayam: Śaivism the Tamils' ancient religion*
 pp. 161. Pallavaram, 1930 IOL Tam.B.6136
 pp. 161. Pallavaram, 1930 SOAS Pam.Tamil D(74147)
20. *Paṇṭaikkālat Tamiḻarum Āriyarum*
 First edition 1906 n.a.
 Second edition 1924–5 IOL Pam. Tamil D. 1900
 (Ancient Tamils and the Aryans)
21. *Paṭṭiṇappālai āraycci: A critical Tamil commentary on Paṭṭiṇappālai*
 First edition 1906 BM 14171.d.2(2)
 First edition 1906 IOL Tam.B.1037
 Second edition 1919 BM 14172.aa.10
 Third edition 1930 SOAS Pam.Tamil D.74146
 Fourth edition 1957 SOAS XII.Tam.988 (186475)
22. *Poruntum uṇavum poruntā uṇavum: Proper and improper foods*
 pp. 93
 First edition 1921 n.a.
 Second edition 1929 IOL Tam.D.3117
23. *Śaiva camaya paripāḷaṇam*
 pp. 12. Pallavaram, 1918 IOL Tam.B.5222
 (A Śaiva religious pamphlet)
24. *Śaiva camayattiṇ nerukkaṭṭiyāṇa nilai*
 pp. 24. Pallavaram, 1930 IOL Tam.B.5874
 (A pamphlet on the critical condition of Śaivism)
25. *Gaiva Gittānta Nānapōtam*
 First edition 1906 (six lectures) n.a.
 Second edition 1922 (sixteen lectures) IOL Tam.D.1448
 Third edition 1935 (nine lectures) n.a.
 Fourth edition 1959 (nine lectures) BM 14172.zb.55
 Fourth edition 1959 (nine lectures) SOAS XII.Tam.985(185706)
 (Lectures on Śaiva Siddhānta doctrine)

26. *Givañāṇapōta āraycci*
pp. 303. Madras, 1958. Posthumous publication— BM 14172.zb.56
incomplete
(Commentary on *Śivañāṇapōtam*)
27. *Tamiḷ nāṭṭavarum mēl nāṭṭavarum*
pp. 32. c. 1930 SOAS Pam.Tamil D(74149)
(A comparison between the Tamils and the people of the West)
This has been included in *Aṟivuraik-kottu* (3)
28. *Tamiḷar matam: The Tamiḷian creed*
pp. 371. Pallavaram, 1941 IOL Tam.B.6553
pp. 371. Pallavaram, 1941 SOAS XII.Tam.27.3(74139)
29. *Tamiḷar nākarikam allatu vēḷāḷar yāvar?: An essay on Tamiḷian civilization and vēḷāḷas*
pp. 66. Pallavaram, 1923 BM 14171.e.49(8)
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30. *Tamiḷttāy*, n.d. IOL p. Tam.D.484
(On Tamil language)
31. *Tenpulattār yār?*
pp. 24. Pallavaram, 1931 SOAS Pam.Tamil D(74148)
(A pamphlet on the original inhabitants of southern India)
32. *Tirukkuraḷ āraycci*
pp. 112. Posthumous publication—incomplete
First edition 1957
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33. *Tiruvācaka virivurai*
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Palamcottah, 1920–2 BM 14171.eee.1
Palamcottah, 1920–2 SOAS Tam.27(30829)
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(A commentary on *Tiruvācakam* of Saint Māṇikkavācakar)
34. *Tiruvorri Murukar mummaṇikkōvai: A string of three gems, an oblation to Muruga, a panegyric Tamil poem*
pp. 49. Madras, 1900 BM 14172.bb.3(2)
There is a 14 line sonnet to Muruga in English by the author
35. *Viyāpārakkūṭṭuravu*, n.d. IOL p.Tam.D.483
(on the Co-operative Movement)
36. *Yōka nittirai: Hypnotic sleep*
pp. 183. Pallavaram, 1922 IOL Tam.D.1783

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37. *Ancient and modern Tamil poets*
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38. *Individual souls*
pp. 4. Pallavaram, 1917 IOL P/T 3177
39. *The social aspect of Saiva Siddhanta: An Address delivered at the fourth Saiva Siddhanta Conference at Trichinopoly*
pp. 14. Madras, 1909 IOL Pam.1594

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- (a) *Nāṇacākaram*
Vol. I, No. 1(1902)—Vol. XIX, No. 6(1941)
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- (b) *Cittānta nāṇapōtam*, Part I
pp. 109. Madras, 1898 BM 14170.ee.39
- (c) *Uṇmai viḷakkam allatu Cittānta tīpikai*
Vol. I, Nos. 1–12 (June 1897–May 1898) BM 14170.fff.1

English

- (d) *The Oriental Mystic Myna*
Vol. I, No. 1 (August 1908)—Vol. I, Nos. 9 & 10
(April and May 1909) BM PP.656.db
IOL ST.729

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AVAILABLE IN LONDON

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pp. 137. Pallavaram, 1934
41. *Cōmacuntara Nāyakar varalāru*
pp. 105. Madras, 1957. Posthumous publication
(A biography of Cōmacuntara Nāyakar—Aṭikal's guru)
42. *Ilaiṇarkkāṇa iṇṇamil*
pp. 180. Madras, 1957. Posthumous publication
(Essays for youth)
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